

CA1  
MI5  
-74S0504



3 1761 11767339 2









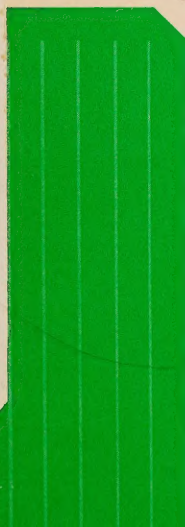
125

1504

# **The social impact of changes in population size and composition**

**Reactions to patterns of immigration**

Raymond Breton, Jill Armstrong, Les Kennedy





Canada. Dept. of Manpower & Immigration.

Canadian  
immigration  
and population  
study

Background study #37.

# The social impact of changes in population size and composition

Reactions to  
patterns of immigration

Raymond Breton  
Jill Armstrong  
Les Kennedy



Manpower  
and Immigration

Main-d'œuvre  
et Immigration



© Crown Copyrights reserved

Available by mail from Information Canada, Ottawa, K1A 0S9  
and at the following Information Canada bookshops:

HALIFAX  
1683 Barrington Street

MONTREAL  
640 St. Catherine Street West

OTTAWA  
171 Slater Street

TORONTO  
221 Yonge Street

WINNIPEG  
393 Portage Avenue

VANCOUVER  
800 Granville Street

or through your bookseller

Price: \$1.25      Catalogue No. MP23-37-1974-5-4

Price subject to change without notice

Information Canada  
Ottawa, 1974



This study is one of several commissioned by the Canadian Immigration and Population Study. It is being published as a contribution to public understanding of the issues with which it deals. The contents of this study are entirely the responsibility of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Manpower and Immigration.



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2023 with funding from  
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/31761117673392>



## PREFACE

The following essay represents an attempt to put together a number of concepts and empirical results pertaining to the impact of changes in the size of populations or of subpopulations. It is recognized that the focus of the study constitutes only one aspect — albeit an important one — of the phenomenon of immigration. Our intention, then, is to make a limited input into the analysis of a highly complex phenomenon.

In the concluding section, a few considerations that may be relevant for policy formulation are expressed. It cannot be overemphasized, however, that it is impossible to formulate an adequate policy from an analysis of one or two aspects of a phenomenon. Policy formulation should be based on an analysis of the problem as a whole as well as on its many constituting aspects. We were not requested and it is not our intention to make policy recommendations. If our analysis can have any usefulness in relation to policy, it will be only to the extent that it is considered in connection with a global formulation of the problem.





## CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION .....	2
A. The Impact of Demographic Changes on Attitudes and Behavior .....	2
B. The Model.....	3
1. Definitions .....	3
2. An Outline of the Model.....	4
C. Plan of Paper.....	6
2. MIGRATION FLOWS AND SOCIAL REACTIONS .....	7
3. THE THEORETICAL MODEL.....	11
A. The Social-Expectation Submodel.....	11
B. The System-Overload Submodel.....	14
4. BEHAVIOURAL AREAS IN WHICH REACTIONS OCCUR .....	17
A. Economic Well-Being .....	17
B. Political Power and Self-Determination .....	19
C. Cultural Identity and Status .....	21
D. Somatic Identity .....	25
E. Moral Integrity.....	27
5. THE INTENSITY OF REACTIONS.....	30
A. The Cumulation of Differences or the Degree of Heterogeneity .....	31
B. Visibility .....	31
C. The Point from which an Increase Takes Place.....	31
D. Socio-Economic or Political Changes Subsequent to a Change in Size.....	31
E. The Presence of Moderating or of Accentuating Agencies.....	32
6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	33
Annotated Bibliography; References .....	35

## INTRODUCTION

### A. THE IMPACT OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES ON ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR

The following discussion is directed not only to the issue of immigration and its impact on host societies, but also moves into the field of social demography to explore the nature of the links between demographic and social psychological variables. As Ford and DeJong (1970) have pointed out, the influence of social psychological factors on demographic processes has become of increasing concern to social demographers. However, the reverse relationship has been somewhat neglected: demographic variables have not been extensively used as independent variables in accounting for patterns of attitudes and organizational structures. If it can be shown that such factors as the change in the size of populations, increasing or decreasing fertility of particular groups, and changes in migration patterns have a social impact, then by examining these factors and their effects we should be able to provide insights into the problems related to immigration.

Moreover, it seems that the better part of the literature in social demography has focused attention on sociologically unrelated individuals rather than choosing to study participants of various kinds of interaction systems (Ford and DeJong 1970, p. 12). As a result, only very general ideas about such things as motivations for migrating and attitudes towards contraception and their consequent effects on demographic patterns have been investigated.

In this paper, we have taken as our independent variable a demographic factor, that is, change of size and composition of populations primarily through migration. The dependent variable consists of the reaction of the host population both on the individual level, in attitudinal change, and on the organizational level, in terms of providing immigrants access to societal resources. In addition, we introduce modifying or conditional variables into the discussion, such as predispositions of members of both host and migrant populations, intergroup tensions, and degree of intragroup organization.

This investigation is directly related to a number of social concerns in Canada today. Our orientation in this essay is directly in line, for instance, with some of the preoccupations of the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, the Honourable Robert Andras, as expressed in statements such as the following:

We must define well-founded objectives about how fast our population should grow, how it should be spread between cities and rural areas and among the various regions, and what kind of social and cultural environment Canadians want.<sup>1</sup>

Simply, what effects do changes in size of the immigrant populations of various ethnic backgrounds have on the attitudes and organizational structure incorporated in the host population of Canadian society? This is the main question with which we will be dealing in the following discussion.

---

<sup>1</sup> Press release, dated September 17, 1973.



Let us now move on to a brief introduction of the model to be used in this discussion, beginning with definitions of the various variables to be examined.

## B. THE MODEL

### 1. Definitions

a) The *independent variable* is change in size of the immigrant population and this may take on the following forms.

(i) Real changes in size:

- The rate of change: This denotes the magnitude of increase or decrease per unit time (i.e. per five- or ten-year periods). Holding everything else constant, the more rapid the increase or decrease, the more serious the consequences and, hence, the reactions.
- The magnitude of change: This variable should be considered simultaneously with the previous one. It is a question of comparing large and small changes over long or short intervals of time.
- Changes in the population as a whole and in segments of that population or, in other words, absolute and relative changes in size: The important point here is that a change in size frequently involves both absolute and relative components. Whether the country, a province, a city or some other socially meaningful unit is considered, a change in size means not only that that unit grows or declines in absolute terms, but it also means that some segments within it become larger (or smaller) relative to others. This is the case for natural increase (or decrease) as well as for immigration (or emigration). If the birth rate is high and the death rate low, the result will be an absolute increase in the size of the population on the one hand, and an increase of the younger relative to the older age groups on the other. Of course this is still more the case if the birth rate (or death rate) is not the same among all segments of that population.

(ii) Imagined changes in size:

- Perceived changes in absolute and especially relative size: There is frequently not a one-to-one correspondence between perceived and real changes. Under certain conditions, a change is perceived as much larger than it in fact is and, under other conditions, the opposite is the case.
- Anticipated changes: Sometimes the reaction is not as much due to an actual change (absolute or relative) in size and its consequences, but rather to what is anticipated will happen in the future.

b) The *dependent variable* consists of the reactions of both individuals and groups towards immigrant populations. These reactions may be positive or negative or, simply, indifferent. They may take the form of total acceptance of immigrants including intermarriage, residential integration and so on, or it may manifest itself

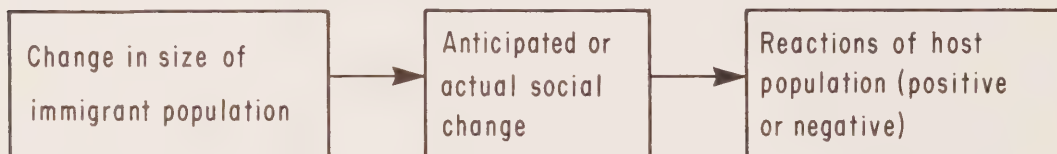
in total rejection of immigrants with constraints put on economic and social mobility and intermingling of groups. Included in this may be the definition of superiority-inferiority relationships which emerge from interpersonal contact between members of both groups. Put simply, these reactions may occur in five separate domains of behaviour: (1) economic well-being, (2) political power and self-determination, (3) cultural identity and status, (4) somatic identity and status, and (5) moral integrity. These behavioural areas will be discussed at length further on in this paper.

c) *Modifying variables* work to alter the nature of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. One variable of this sort that will be discussed in this paper is what we will call "predispositions". Predispositions may be linked up to the feeling of difference or sameness experienced by members of the two ethnic groups when they come into contact one with the other. These differences may be real or they may be imagined but, whatever the case, they play a part in regulating the impact of the independent variable (change in size) on the dependent variable (reactions towards immigrant groups). Predispositions can occur in each of the five behavioural areas mentioned above.

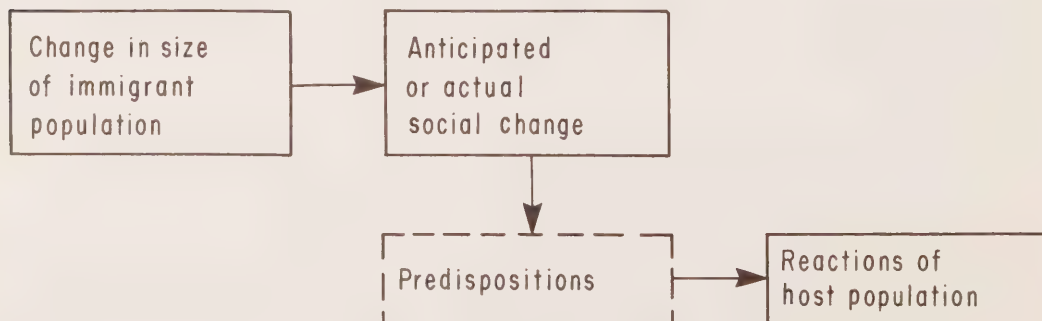
Some of the other modifying variables have been mentioned above. These include heterogeneity of the population undergoing change, intergroup tensions, intragroup organization, and so on.

## 2. An Outline of the Model

As we pointed out above, the two major variables to be examined are change in size of the immigrant population and the reaction of the host population to this change in size. This may be depicted as shown below.



This relationship may be somewhat modified by the intervention of the predispositions of either population concerning the effect that change in size has on such things as visibility of skin colour, changes in social status, redistribution of economic resources, changes in political bargaining processes and so on. We then have the relationship depicted below.

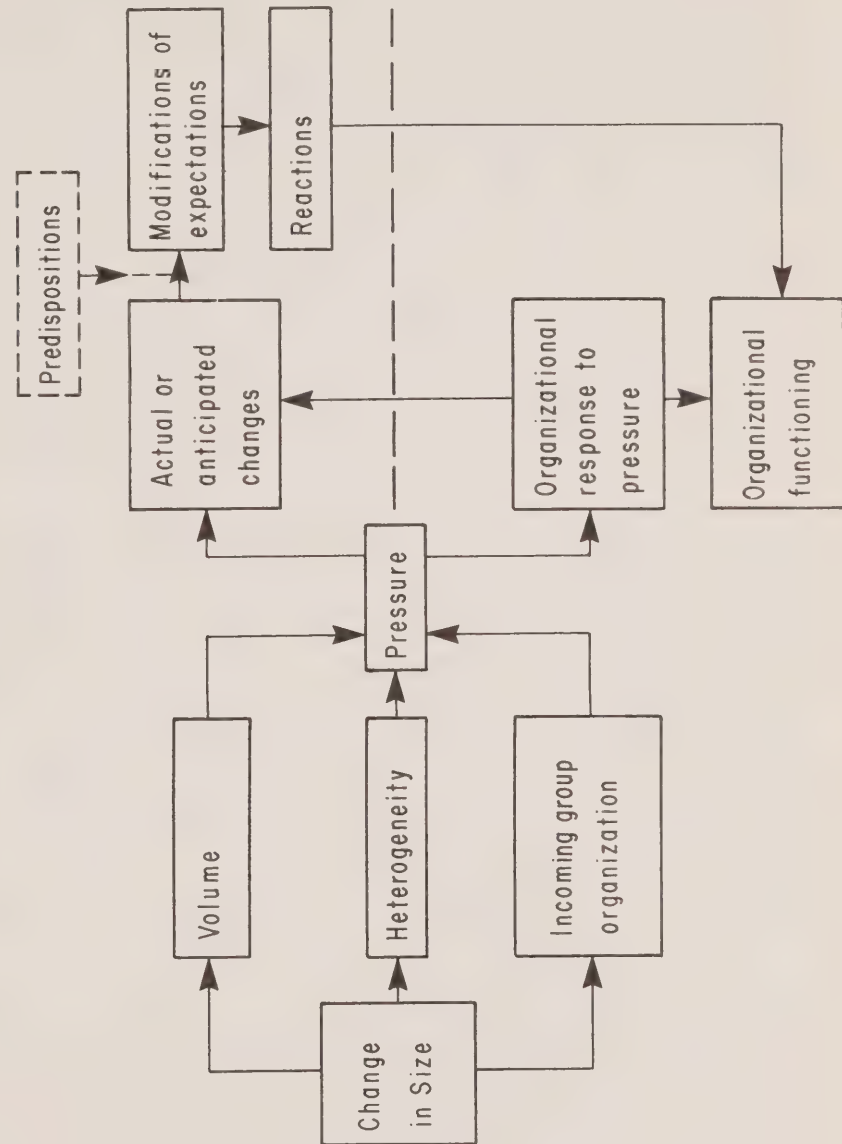




Ultimately, we can try to account for as many factors as possible which are at work modifying and either strengthening or weakening the relationship between change in size of the immigrant population and the reactions of the host population. The entire model may be depicted as in Diagram I. Variations of this will be discussed throughout the paper.

Diagram I

# THE IMPACT OF CHANGES IN SIZE



### C. PLAN OF PAPER

The discussion which follows begins with a short review of the literature reporting an impact of migration flows on social attitudes and behaviour. It then goes on to a detailed description of the model outlined above. This done, the way the model applies to the five domains of behaviour is shown through a description of each domain. This is followed by a brief discussion of the conditions affecting the intensity of the reactions that may occur in the host population. Finally, we present a summary of the discussion, suggestions for future research related to the issue under study, and certain statements that could be of use to those involved in deciding the future form of immigration policy.



## MIGRATION FLOWS AND SOCIAL REACTIONS

Population increase and the change in relative size of two or more groups in contact serve to increase both the number of people who aim to satisfy their desires, and the types of groups in competition for values, material or non-material. There is also a causal link between the size of the minority and the rate of increase of that minority, because of the lure of an established community for potential in-migrants (Jiobu and Marshall 1971). The attitudes of the host population can be modified by population growth because of an increase in the number of participants, the social and organizational innovations it makes necessary, and the differential growth of different categories of people (Matras 1973, p. 424).

Many citizens and planners believe in the existence of a racial "saturation point" or threshold, beyond which a given population may be saturated with a certain minority group at a given time (Hartley and Mintz 1946). Such a notion contributes to efforts to impose spatial segregation, or the fullest practicable attainment of barriers to participation of one group in the affairs of another. This can lead to the development of antipathies in the host population towards "alien" customs and traditions in the minority.

With respect to the host responses to a change in minority-group size in the economic sector, Cutwright (1965) found a high correlation between white income gains and the proportion of black workers (most of whom were in low-paid jobs), as well as between white occupational status and the relative size of the black community, suggesting that increases in the proportion of blacks in northern U.S. cities create more white discrimination. A likely reason is that the two groups are in competition for jobs and economic status. Australians revealed hostility towards southern Europeans because of a fear that such a minority would undercut the national material standard of living (Petersen 1965, pp. 229-30). Britons have also been observed to claim that immigrants threaten the security of their jobs and undercut their wages (Griffith et al. 1960, p. 8). Moreover, Hodge and Hodge (1965) found that at every occupational level, white men get lower pay in occupations where women and blacks are frequent co-members.

In the competition for access to political power and benefits, segregationist votes in American elections correlate positively with black population percentages (Pettigrew and Cramer 1959; Heer 1959). When the minority is able to organize itself, this factor combines with size and density to evoke negative majority response: the increase in both black electorate and in responsible black leadership, civil rights organizations and mass protests are resisted by whites who must reckon with blacks as an effective political force (Wilson 1965).

Blalock (1957) found that American southern communities with large non-white increases had disproportionately high rates of discrimination on all of its residential indicators: home ownership, overcrowding, and rent. In a Washington, D.C., study, it was determined by data on changes in population size that there was a tendency towards more residential segregation in 1960 than in 1950 (Duncan and Mindlin 1964). Williams (1964, pp. 110, 131-2) also found neighbourhood residential segregation to increase directly with the black proportion in northern cities, and

segregation was also high in schools, recreation areas and public clinics. A Toronto study (Darroch and Marston 1970) examined the actual extent and pattern of residential dissimilarity, using a measure of the spatial separation of any two ethnic groups. They found that for all five dimensions of ethnicity (period of immigration, rural vs. urban origin, country of birth, mother tongue and religion), the indexes of dissimilarity were significantly large.

The anxious and hostile reactions of residents both derive from and contribute to those of entrepreneurs such as landlords and realtors. In communities in which restrictive covenants are legal, “desirable” residents are often chosen by property owners’ associations and real-estate brokerage groups who create the adoption of a point system based on ethnicity and appearance in their screening procedures (Bufalina 1970). There is also a direct relation between the realtor’s attitudes towards desegregation and his perception of the attitudes of others, especially his clients (Boichel 1969). The establishment of housing quotas by social agency practitioners is an effort to control neighbourhood racial composition. More than 90 per cent of agency personnel in one study believed in desegregation, and that it could not be accomplished if the saturation-point concept were ignored. Thirty-three per cent believed quotas to be fair, because they prevent “flooding” of neighbourhoods (Northwood and Klein 1964).

There are many conditions under which various forms of intergroup integration or conflict can occur in a changing community shared by two groups: one is the nature of the contact which may be poor if the two groups hold incompatible customs and values (Molotch 1969a). The type of immigration is therefore important to intergroup relations: Smolicz (1972) found that middle-class Eastern Europeans were better received in their new Australian communities than their lower-class southern European counterparts. But most such groups imported into Australia are of rural lower-class background and natives tend to attribute “undesirable” behaviour to their ethnicity rather than to their social class. A similar situation exists with rural poor Maritimes migrants to Toronto: Parkdale native residents characterize the group as “clannish”, “culturally deprived” and “indifferent about achievement”, and resist the movement of such migrants to the neighbourhood (Social Planning Council 1968).

Another modifying factor is the availability of a stable supply of housing units for both native and incoming populations (Molotch, 1969b). Taeuber and Taeuber (1965) found that “in contrast to the 1940s the greater the increase in black population, the greater the decrease in segregation” in the period 1950-60, in 69 cities. The chief factor was the changing context of the housing market, with higher vacancy rates and housing alternatives and the “Negro gains in occupational and income levels” (pp. 76-7).

A crisis may occur when the black-white ratio in the school reaches a certain threshold or saturation point — when both groups feel the school is about to be overwhelmingly black, even though the actual minority percentage may be only 25 per cent. Here, fear of invasion supplants the idea of desegregation and whites develop concern about newcomers’ behaviour patterns (Rose and Rothman 1964; The Fabian Society 1965). And polls have shown attitudes towards desegregation in low-percentage-black communities to be *less* pro-segregation than American Southerners in high-percentage-black communities (Pettigrew 1957). With respect to strictly ethnic differences, Anderson (1972) found that foreign-born teachers are



not hired until they are “fully assimilated”.

The notion of exceeding a “saturation point” may contribute to exaggerated ideas about the extent of the migration and the size of the population (Rose 1969), and evidence of such overperceptions of the actual size of the minority are frequently found in the sociological literature. Britons were asked to estimate the number of coloured people in the total population (Bagley 1970), and the majority overestimated that number, with the relationship increasing among respondents exhibiting out-group prejudice: the number of persons estimating the number of coloureds to exceed five million ranged from 17.8 per cent among those without prejudice to 38.8 per cent among respondents with a high prejudice score. Both the actual and perceived proportions of the groups are significant in host members’ reactions; political attitudes and behaviour are affected by what people think will happen in future to the population distribution, by race, nationality, or religious adherence (Compton and Boal 1969-70). Though Ireland’s Protestant-Roman Catholic ratio has remained fairly stable at 66:34 over the last century, Compton and Boal determined the beliefs of university students about the proportion: both religious groups estimated there were 10 per cent to 15 per cent more Catholics than there are in fact; 82 per cent of Catholics and 92 per cent of Protestants predicted the proportions of 50:50 for the future. Protestants thought it would take longer for such a ratio to occur, their perceptions stemming from the fear of an undesired event.

As already mentioned, immigrant group differences can also create host discomfort, if those differences are seen to be incompatible with valued customs, traditions, and role allocations in the host society. Much intergroup disorder is due to discord among cultural strata which differ according to language and values, since this may create problems in communication and conflicts of interest.

When intergroup incompatibilities are perceived by the host group, there emerges a belief that the differences between the groups are more important than the similarities, though, of course, the perception of incompatibilities depends on the salience of the particular psychological desire and institutional pattern to the host member’s everyday routines and life goals. It is likely that incompatibility is seen in institutional patterns which differ according to the fundamental values which underlie them.

Chief among the incompatibilities creating anxiety in the host society are those which suggest a minority unwillingness to seek identification with their new society. The group may be seen as attempting to substitute its own symbols for those of the host population, and as rejecting host cultural patterns, expectations, and beliefs. Different skin colour, dress, life-style, all make immigrants visible to the host society, but they also emphasize cultural identity with the homeland. Moreover, they also help to emphasize to the immigrants themselves their membership in a different linguistic and cultural group (Desai 1963). From the host point of view, a unified society is frequently not seen as possible with a series of cultural groups within its boundaries. These perceptions are exacerbated when a minority group believes its continued existence is threatened, and seeks to increase feelings of group loyalty, security and cohesion, by developing a tight and exclusionist in-group organization (Siegel 1969).

Having seen how the question of effects of change in size has been dealt with in



the literature, we can move to an examination of the theoretical model which is offered for the analysis of the problems discussed above.

## THE THEORETICAL MODEL

From the empirical literature, it appears that changes in size can and do bring about reactions among those who experience the changes. But why is this so? What are the reasons why such changes are followed by certain attitudinal and behavioural manifestations? When would such manifestations be positive and when would they be negative? The present section is an attempt to provide elements of an answer to such questions. The overall model is presented in two parts: social-expectation and system-overload submodels.

### A. THE SOCIAL-EXPECTATION SUBMODEL

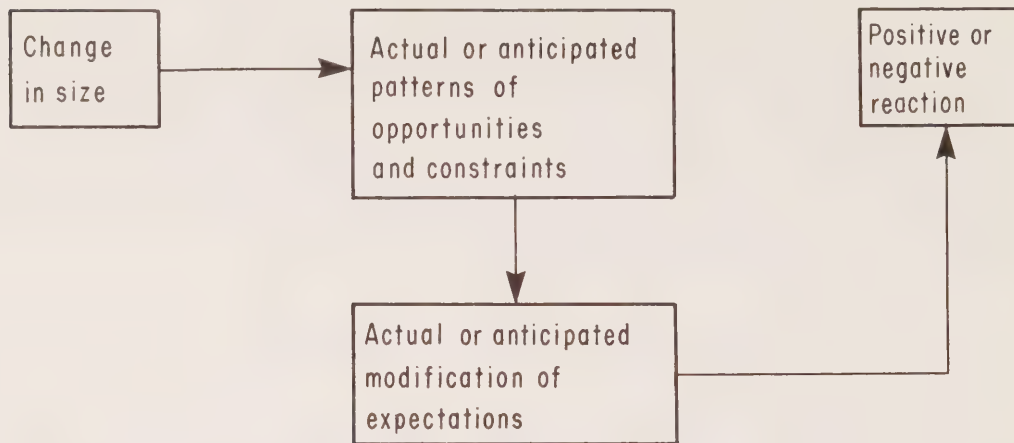
The initial assumption is that people have certain desires they wish to satisfy. The way in which one refers to these desires is not important in the present context. One may prefer to think of them as drives, as preferences, as values to be realized, or even as felt needs to be met. But whatever the way in which one prefers to conceptualize the phenomenon, it seems agreed that people have desires that they strive to satisfy or, in plain language, that there are things that people seek out of life. Moreover, the satisfaction of desires is dependent on the set of circumstances prevailing in a particular society or community at a particular time. For example, in order to satisfy one's desires for economic well-being and security, an individual may avail himself of the existing institutionalized opportunities, but what he will achieve will be subject to a number of institutionalized limitations or constraints. The labour market, career lines in organizations, the means for the acquisition of skills, the spatial location of jobs — all these are structured in certain ways. Conditions to be met, rules to be followed and rewards associated with various positions are specified.

To say that opportunities and constraints for the satisfaction of desires are *institutionalized* is to say that they show some fairly enduring pattern in structure and distribution so that people know more or less what to expect in various circumstances. In other words, to patterned opportunities and constraints correspond patterned definitions of social expectations.

Basically, the reason why a change in size — absolute and perhaps especially relative — is likely to bring about a social reaction is that such a change usually entails a modification of the patterns of opportunities and constraints and of the corresponding patterns of expectations. Because of their position in the social structure and of the composition of their desires, some individuals and groups will experience the modifications in a positive way (i.e. they experience an increase of opportunities relative to the constraints), while others will experience them in a negative way. They will be likely to perceive a disruption in what they would normally have expected in their careers and social relations. An increase in number may, for example, change “the ratio of resources to population” and increase the intensity of competition at least for certain subgroups in the population (Hawley 1944). As indicated earlier, the disruption may take place at that point in time or it may be anticipated for the future. The expected reaction will be one of satisfaction

and acceptance or one of dissatisfaction and rejection depending on the new balance of opportunities and constraints for the individuals and groups involved.

Thus we have the following sequence.



Of course, many people remain unaffected by the change in size or are affected in minor tangential ways. These people are likely to be indifferent, at least initially. Once reactions become crystallized and socially articulated, the situation may change.

Up to now, discussion has assumed a population consisting of isolated persons pursuing the satisfaction of their individual desires or interests. Although this does occur in some instances, it frequently happens that individual desires are transformed into group goals. Individuals with similar desires and facing similar sets of opportunities and constraints will, under certain circumstances, organize themselves for the pursuit of their interests. Of course, the organization may be very loose at one extreme or highly structured at the other. For the present purposes, it is sufficient to identify three types of groups that may form themselves.

*1. Groups attempting to make a place for themselves in the social system.*

Typically, such groups are formed by members of the “incoming” segment of the population. If the population is growing by natural processes (e.g. excess of births over deaths), the present type of group will tend to be formed by young people. This is especially the case if the natural increase has been sudden and quite large. On the other hand, groups may be formed among migrants from rural to urban areas or from one country into another.

Initially, individuals or families move into an area. The common conditions in which they find themselves as well as their common background may lead them to an awareness of the similarity of their interests and to form associations for certain purposes. The main point here is that the very occurrence of such organization and group activity increases the pressure on the existing structure of opportunities and constraints at least insofar as the organized activity consists in making claims for things not presently enjoyed by the new groups. The pressure is probably proportional to the degree of group organization and the extent of its activity.

*2. Elements of organization may also appear or be strengthened among those who stand to lose (or anticipate such an event) from a transformation of the structure of*



*opportunities and constraints.*

Their aim is not to make a place for themselves, but rather to protect the one they already occupy. They attempt to resist the transformations being introduced (or that may be introduced).

*3. Finally, elements of organization may also appear or be strengthened among those who are gaining from the changes (or who anticipate such an outcome).*

Such groups are likely to be opposed to restrictions to the increase in size: growth, expansion, development are to their advantage, at least in the short run. Or more accurately, they favour an increase in size as long as the transformations it brings about serve their advantage and as long as the incoming groups do not make “unreasonable” claims on the institutional system from which they benefit.

Before expanding the initial model to include the elements of group organization and activity, another aspect of a change in size must be considered, namely the composition of the population. A change in magnitude will rarely occur without changing, even if only a little, the composition of the population. This is implicit in a change in relative sizes, but it will also be the usual case with changes in absolute size. This is especially likely when the change results from immigration. Indeed, immigrants are always different in some respect from the host population. Of course, the differences may be minor and restricted to only a few areas of behaviour but they can be extensive and cumulate over several areas of behaviour.<sup>1</sup>

“Differentness” is important because it interacts with size to affect the degree of pressure on the existing social patterns. The more pronounced the difference and the more areas over which differences extend, or both, the greater the impact of an increase in size.

A change in size, then, expands the system thus creating new sets of opportunities and constraints or changing the previous distribution of opportunities and constraints among the members of the system. A change in size also increases — in most cases — the heterogeneity of the population by introducing in it people with different characteristics. These differences may be more or less compatible with the characteristics, way of life, and institutions of the host population.

The model should then include the possibility of group organization and activity as well as the fact that a change in size may not only result in an expansion of the community (or parts of it) but also in an increase in its heterogeneity (see Diagram II).

It should be noted that a “feedback” arrow has been included in the diagram: opposition to the incoming population is likely to increase the degree of its internal organization. If the opposition is quite intense, then the organization may become more and more of a defensive character, to the point where the group withdraws either physically or by living at the margin of the wider society.<sup>2</sup>

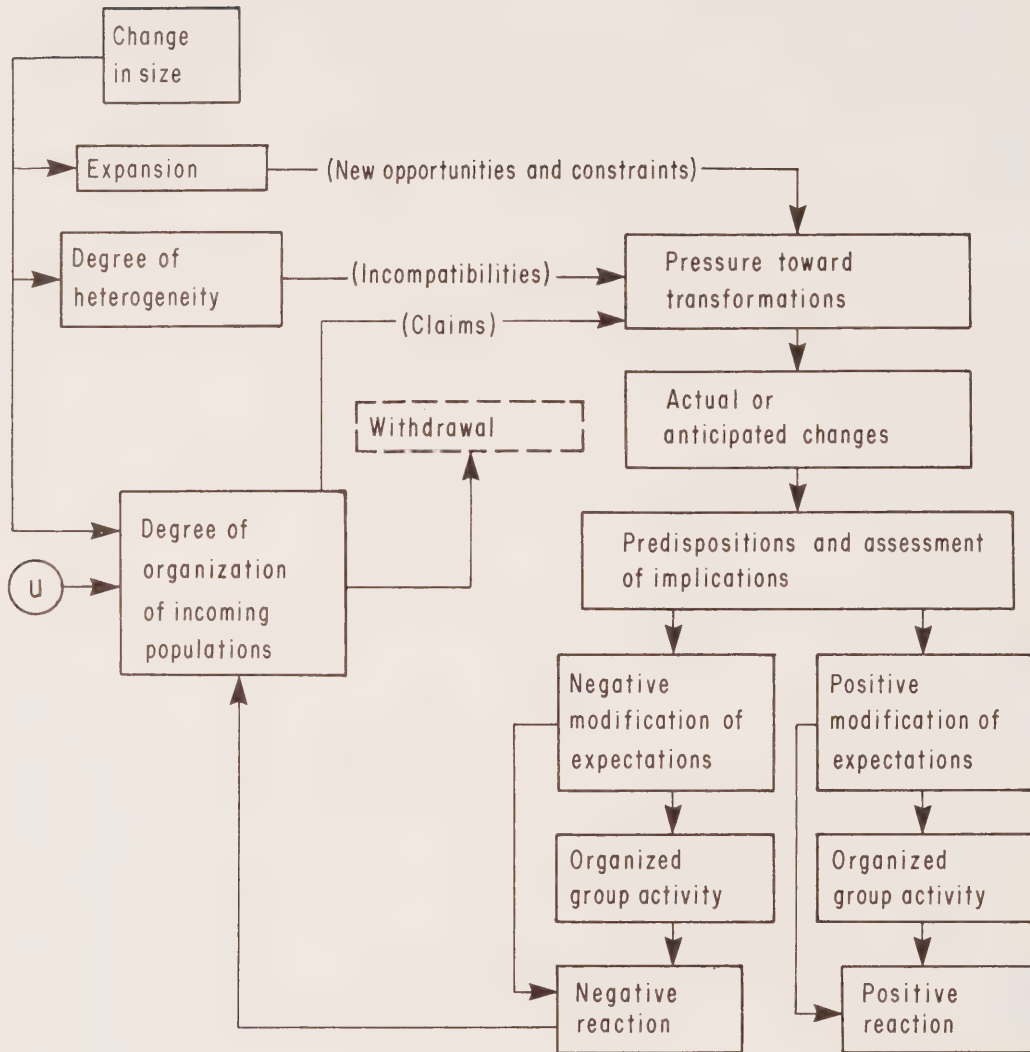
In concluding this section, it should be pointed out that the processes represented in the “expectation” model can occur in the society at large as well as within communities and organizations. What changes from one social unit to the

<sup>1</sup>See next section for a discussion of the major areas along which differences can occur.

<sup>2</sup>The diagram also includes a few arrows attached to a (u). This is done to recognize that some of the variables are also determined by a number of factors that are left unspecified in the model.

Diagram II

## SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS MODEL



other is the particular configuration of institutional opportunities and constraints.

### B. THE SYSTEM-OVERLOAD SUBMODEL

In the system-overload model, the focus is not on individuals, but on organizations or on the institutional system of a community or society. This model complements the expectation model. For example, in examining the impact of a change in school size, the analysis can focus on the reactions of the students,

teachers and administrators involved, but it can also focus on the organization of the school, its ability to handle larger numbers and ethnic mixtures and thereby to function effectively.

Organizations exist for specific purposes. Organizations also have certain ways of pursuing their objectives: procedures, rules, and patterned sets of activities which may be established into traditions. Finally, organizations dispose of certain resources for carrying out their activities. Or, more accurately, organizations can tap certain sources for their resources and one of the problems that an organization faces is that of being successful in obtaining the resources it needs.

Organizational objectives, patterned activities and resources are in part tailored to fit a given size in membership and clientele, or both. To the extent that this is the case, we can expect that a change in size will pose problems for the organization; objectives may have to be redefined; patterned activities and traditions may have to be modified; and new or additional resources (skills, money, public support, etc.) may have to be found.

The problems experienced in an organization because of a change in size may be due to the sheer change in "volume": more or less has to be produced; more or fewer services have to be rendered; more or fewer cases must be processed; etc. The problems may also stem from the fact that when the size increases, the composition of the membership and clientele, or both, can also change. A likely event with immigration is that it will become more heterogeneous. A more diverse organizational population is the kind of phenomenon which can result in pressure for a modification of the objectives; it can result in pressure for the adoption of new patterns of activity and the rejection of some of the previously established ones.

It is possible that an organization will grow significantly in size and still maintain the same composition, but it is improbable, especially if the increase is the result of in-migrations. Moreover, we have seen above that an increase in size may be accompanied by the formation of groups among the incoming membership-clienteles who are trying to make a place for themselves in the organization; by the formation or strengthening of groups among those who want to maintain the established objectives and patterns; as well as among those who see it to their advantage to encourage certain modifications. When this occurs it constitutes a third way in which a change in size can bring about organizational change, that is those resulting from internal tensions and conflicts among organizational subgroups.

If the pressure brings about a mobilization of the required resources and if it sets in motion adequate bargaining processes among the groups involved in the organization, then we can expect a successful absorption of the incoming membership or an adequate treatment of the new clientele. If not, the organization will be impaired in its functioning and, in some instances, may even be threatened in its survival.

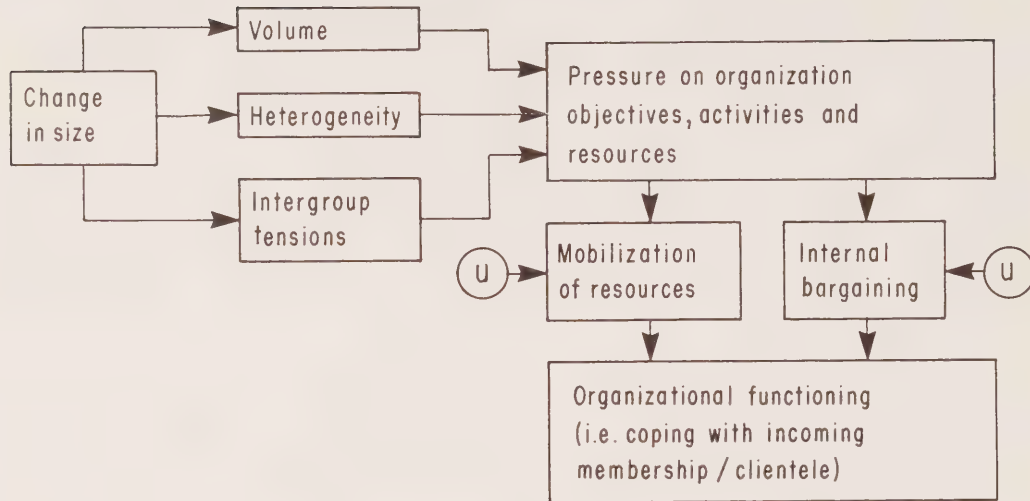
These propositions can be represented by Diagram III.

As already indicated, the two submodels complement one another. The starting point is the same in both; but one focuses on the processes triggered among individuals or groups while the other focuses on the characteristics of organizations. We could say that the second model deals with the impact of changes in size on the organizational contexts within which individuals have to operate. That is to say, the



Diagram III

### THE SYSTEM OVERLOAD MODEL



ability of an organization to cope with the pressure put on it is related to the reactions of individuals in that structure (and those affected by the organizational structure), since it is this ability that determines in large part the changes that do or are anticipated to take place.

Simplifying the previous diagrams, they can be combined to represent the overall model (Diagram I, page 5).

## BEHAVIOURAL AREAS IN WHICH REACTIONS OCCUR

The processes described above and the resulting responses can occur in several domains of behaviour. There are no doubt a very large variety of human desires and several ways of classifying them. For the present purposes, five domains have been identified that appear sufficiently broad and inclusive while providing some degree of specificity. The five areas of attitudes and behaviour are:

- economic well-being
- political power and self-determination
- cultural identity and status
- somatic identity and status
- moral integrity.

These are domains within which desires are articulated and within which institutionalized opportunities and constraints exist for their satisfaction. A brief description follows, together with a presentation of some of the relevant literature.

### A. ECONOMIC WELL-BEING

That people search for at least an adequate well-being — adequate from their own point of view — through access to valued resources can be taken as a self-evident proposition. It is also easy to see that the desire for well-being can be satisfied, for most people, through institutionalized structures and mechanisms: a particular structure of occupation; a labour market with its rules, requirements and agencies; occupational associations and unions; a wage and salary structure; a commodity and, particularly, a housing-market; and a capitalistic, competitive system of control and decision-making. In addition, the state of the economy as a whole or segments of it, or both, fluctuate over time. All these contribute to the set of opportunities and constraints through which a desired degree of well-being can be attained.

The main impetus for attracting in-migrants is labour shortage due to economic growth. The shortage, however, may or may not be felt at all levels of the occupational hierarchy. Moreover, when it is felt only at some levels of the occupational ladder, it may be more frequently so at the lower levels, but it also happens fairly frequently that a country does not have enough highly skilled manpower. Three basic types of situations can be perceived or anticipated by people already in the labour force:

1. *The possibility of an oversupply of labour at certain levels of the ladder or in certain specific occupations.* Even if the number of jobs is increasing, the presence of newcomers may be sufficient to generate an apprehension that too many will come with the result of an excessive competition.
2. *Closely related is the possibility that the newcomers will be willing to work for less than the locally accepted rates.* This is especially the case if the immigrants are

coming from countries with a significantly lower standard of living than Canada's. Because of their willingness to work relatively cheaply (in comparison with Canadian workers), either because they have no choice or because they do not know any better, they represent the threat of undercutting which is not excessive competition, but which is perceived as some sort of "unfair competition". It should be added that a source of such labour is usually very attractive to employers; it is in their interest to see as few barriers to the coming of such labour as possible.

If present workers perceive the source of possible undercutting as very large or even virtually limitless, their apprehension of undercutting can become quite intense. This is frequently the case with low-skilled workers from unindustrialized countries.

3. *The possibility of a change in the level of aspiration among the newcomers.* When they first come into a country, immigrants may be satisfied with low levels of occupation and pay. But they may very well not stay in that state of mind. The process of acculturation, which involves a comparison of their situation with that of native Canadians, may soon lead immigrants to the same or about the same levels of aspirations. This is what is happening in a number of Western European countries, to a fair extent: the workers who were brought in for low-skilled jobs and low pay appear to be more and more dissatisfied with their situation. Their objective conditions do not appear to get worse, but their perception of them is changing.

When we say that there is increased competition, undercutting and a change in aspiration — or the anticipation of such events — we are saying that some of the institutionalized structures and mechanisms are, as far as some people are concerned, more or less seriously disturbed. And the larger the influx of new workers, the more serious is the actual or perceived disturbance likely to be.

4. *A fourth possible situation is one where some aspect of the economy and its institutions changes, thus giving a new significance to previous immigration.* The typical case is the significant slowdown of the rate of economic expansion or, still worse, of a depression. As long as the economy is expanding at a certain rate, the problems of competition and of changing aspirations are likely to remain small (assuming that the rate of immigration is proportionate). But if the situation changes in a significant way, the number of immigrants is likely to be perceived as excessive. The *previous* flow of immigrants will now start straining the economic and occupational institutions and begin to disturb some of the accepted patterns and thus generate negative reactions.

Research findings indicate that areas with large non-white increases have high rates of discrimination (Blalock 1957). This may result from the fear of undercutting (Bonacich 1972), or the fear that, because of an increase in the number of competitors, seniority and experience will cease to ensure job security. But where a high degree of discrimination *already* exists, intergroup competition is low because of minimal contact. That is to say, any given increase in percentage-black creates more competition where the two groups are near-equals in status (Blalock 1957).

Further evidence suggests that whites gain occupationally from the subordination of blacks, with percentage-black the chief explanatory factor. Glen (1963) found that the percentage-white in the most desirable occupational categories increased, with the reverse relationship obtaining for the least desirable



occupations. The white Index of Occupational Status (composed of the median education and income of all workers) increased from the lower to the upper end of the scale of "percentage-black" in seven of the nine occupational categories studied.

There is some evidence, too, that occupations experiencing interracial competition pay less than those restricted to the dominant group. Hodge and Hodge (1965) found that at every occupational level, white males receive lower pay in occupations where women and blacks are frequent co-members, except in those occupations requiring apprenticeship and training in which there are natural protective barriers against minorities, and in sensitive occupations involving the public.

Both citizens and planners tend to believe that the economic well-being and occupational stability of the host population are endangered by immigration and that an upper limit exists to a nation's ability to absorb immigrants and to expand organizational facilities to accommodate their needs. In a study of the economic consequences of increased immigration, Reder (1963) suggests that many such fears are ill-founded. Increases in the skilled labour force contribute to increased rates of capital accumulation. Also, skilled immigrants receive no more than their private product and will not therefore lower the per capita income of natives. However, these positive effects are offset in the case of a rural migration since the low-paid manual worker is less adaptable than his urban and educated counterpart. Many "secondary earners" from this group enter unskilled sectors of the work force and this may decrease the labour force participation of low-skilled natives, thus creating host anxiety.

Another structural and organizational consequence of immigration applies mainly to technical-professional occupations: the organized medical profession, for example, is unwilling to subordinate its own interests to the demand for more doctors, and is reluctant to recognize the training of post-war immigrant doctors (Corbett 1957, p. 4; Toronto and District Labour Committee for Human Rights 1967, pp. 3-5).

Also significant are the perceptions of the host population with respect to labour-force participation and economic gains of immigrants. Because the native working class is increasingly deprived as educational and training requirements are raised, it frequently finds itself in conflict with incoming groups over scarce resources. Low-income people may believe that the economic gains of large numbers of immigrants make them anything but vulnerable groups, and perceive that government is "doing more" for the racial or ethnic minorities (Gans 1968).

## B. POLITICAL POWER AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Some people want power and influence for its own sake but most people are interested in it insofar as it bears a relationship to the satisfaction of other desires. And the distribution of power among groups or categories of people is partly a function of their relative sizes. Numbers are important politically, not only because of the impact on the vote, but also because of their importance in the public expression of aspirations and positions on issues. Indeed, such expressions depend heavily on numbers for effectiveness, either through public-opinion polls, demonstrations, public meetings, strikes, walks on public buildings, etc.

It is not necessary to emphasize the importance of numbers in the context of political power and influence. It is perhaps sufficient to mention that one possibility that is anxiety-creating is that of becoming a minority whether it be in a city ward, in the city as a whole, in a provincial or federal riding, in a province or in the country as a whole. There is enough in the history of Canadian and American politics of cases of gerrymandering, of changing electoral rules and systems of government to show that the relative size of groups in the population is important in keeping one's influence and advantages in political decision-making.

From the literature on host-member reactions to increased political participation of immigrant groups we can find the following proposition: the stronger the minority-group effort to achieve political representation, the more negative will be the response of the majority — whether the strength of the minority is exercised by ballot power, legal protest, or illegal means. The relationship is enhanced when the minority group is highly organized, and/or when it enters a coalition with powerful existing groups such as unions and liberal native leaders. The host reaction is a response to perceived minority-group efforts to increase their own power, within or outside of the conventional social structure, and much of it takes the form of a “too far, too fast” notion of minority-group progress.

In a liberal democracy, voting and public demonstration or protest as articulation of needs and desires are important mechanisms for achieving access to the material and symbolic benefits of citizenship. Although the state chooses which minority forms of expression it will support and foster, an important factor is the ability of the ethnic group to change its own status (Isajiw 1968-9). Such pressure inevitably evokes a response from the host population, whose power is necessarily eroded when that of other groups is increased. Host response to the minority is modified by the type and nature of political expression the minority chooses, whether ballot power, organizational and leadership emergence, or violent-protest activity.

The host community in general perceives a greater threat when minority groups are concentrated in electoral districts enabling them to elect in-group members to political office (Wilson 1960, pp. 30, 50, 68). Changes in the number and nature of political participants created by immigration also produce changes in urban governmental forms, usually in favour of a more politicized and responsive governmental type (Gordon 1968). This can elicit a negative response from host citizens who feel threatened by reformist leaders and new “rules of the game”. Threat is most severe when there is a clash between host and newcomer groups over political principles concerning the distribution of resources. Brink and Harris (1966) found most whites (63 per cent) to resent black gains, maintaining that they had not worked for jobs and housing but got them by protest, and that blacks aimed to “take over” white jobs.

The “professionalization” of race relations in civil-rights organizations has had an impact on both local and national politics and the attitudes of host members, many of whom fear a “Second Reconstruction” among American blacks. Minority political leaders deliver votes, and their followers can no longer be disfranchised if that competition for their votes proves unsettling to the host population. The impact is heightened where there are coalitions of minorities with white liberals and union leaders (Wilson 1967).

Host members often exercise control on local politics, and modes of minority representation can be severely restricted (Seasholes and Cleaveland 1962; Katznelson 1973, pp. 26-7). This response contributes to minority-group protest, and is in turn fed by it.

Host response to a minority riot tends to locate the blame on a too-rapid pace of change towards integration in jobs, housing and schools, and on poor methods of riot control and law enforcement. An American poll revealed that two-thirds of respondents advocated shooting rioters and looters, and 41 per cent wanted more stringent social control and punishment (Silver 1968). Conant et al. (1969) found white attitudes to have a mean of 10.6 on a range of responses of "Change is taking place too fast" (score 3); "Too slow" (score 1); and "About right" (score 2). Two-thirds of respondents were in the conservative range of attitudes above 10, and the black mean was 6.7. The more advantaged in the host community find minority claims of injustice more credible than the less advantaged, who either accept their lot or use legal means to redress their grievances (Jeffries et al. 1971). Harper (1968) measured white hostility against blacks following the 1964 riots in Rochester, and he found that of two alternatives, "Blacks have it pretty good here" and "Blacks have a right to complain", 69 per cent chose the first.

However, perceptions of rioting can vary. For instance host members living close to, but not mingling with blacks are found to be less fearful and hostile than those living at a distance, due to their greater knowledge of and sympathy with black grievances. Measuring this perceived distance from blacks and its effect, Harper (1968) questioned whites living in three areas. He found 75.7 per cent of whites living in the city but more than a block from the black community to have a hostile response; 66.4 per cent of those living in the city but within a block of the black community had such a response; while only 57.7 per cent of those living outside the city limits were hostile towards blacks. Also, if a ward is politically defined as a "black" ward, whites in it may feel they live closer to blacks than they do in fact (Harper 1968).

### C. CULTURAL IDENTITY AND STATUS

The formation of identity and the attainment of status are partly based on cultural characteristics such as language, life style and values. Membership in a community and differentness, or being an insider and an outsider, are frequently defined in terms of conformity to the language, life-style and values of the community. Also, status in the community is frequently assessed along the dimensions of grammar and accent (e.g. low-class vs. high-class English; "joul" vs. Parisian French), life-style (e.g. small-town vs. urbanite way of life) and values (e.g. educational attainment).

The broad dimensions of culture which provide a basis for defining who one is and for attaining social recognition include a wide variety of aspects. Life-style, for example, includes the areas of leisure activities, modes of socializing, child-rearing practices, privacy norms, eating habits, etc. There is no point in listing them all, but it is important to note that the particular elements of culture that are of significance for identity and status are not the same in all societies and perhaps not even in all segments of a given society. Moreover, the particular configuration of cultural characteristics may be experienced by people as some sort of diffuse totality (e.g. Englishness; English character; *le visage français*; *la culture française*).



Culture manifests itself in a variety of institutionalized patterns. If these patterns are upset by a large influx of people who are culturally different it is possible that people will not “recognize themselves” or “find themselves” anymore. In other words, the cultural character of the community may progressively change to the point where some of the people will find themselves to be “strangers in their own land”.

Culture is not only a basis of identity, it is also an area for the manifestation of a sense of superiority and inferiority. Some people feel that their culture is superior to that of others and derive satisfaction from identifying with it. That feeling may arise from the fact that one's culture has historically come to dominate a given environment. As Hofstadter wrote, some sort of Darwinism occurs in the form that “if we have been that successful, then we must be superior”. Groups frequently attempt to use immigration to maintain or reinforce their cultural strength or dominance in a society, or both. Native religious groups, linguistic groups and ethnic groups have been known to have such ambitions.

Conversely, a loss of status or the possibility of such a loss is a traumatic experience for the members of a cultural group. The possibility of becoming a cultural minority or of becoming a still smaller minority is anxiety-creating and usually brings about fairly intense reactions.

In Canada the perception of a cultural threat in relation to immigration is perhaps most acute in Quebec. With its relatively low “absorptive capacity”, French Quebec is more likely to perceive even a moderately rapid rate of increase of the population through the in-migration of linguistically different people as a culturally threatening event — that is, as an event that is likely to disrupt the linguistic balance and hence affect the cultural character of Quebec society. And since the cultural character imbedded in the various institutions of the society shapes the very identity of the members of that society, a cultural threat is likely to trigger an intense reaction.

Moreover, a rapid rate of in-migration may constitute an “overload” for the institutions of a society concerned with the transmission and expression of the culture generally, as well as with the transmission to newcomers and their children of the minimum cultural (especially linguistic) background necessary to operate in conformity with native mores and laws. If these institutions have to process too many cases at once, they may succeed in many instances only in providing an unrewarding experience for the in-migrant thus defeating their own purpose. In Quebec, the problem for the acculturating institutions is accentuated by the existence of severe competition from Anglophone institutions.

Moreover, from a status point of view, French and English language and culture are not at par with each other in Canada. There are many reasons for this and it is a condition that manifests itself in many different ways. The point here is that in-migration could, by changing the relative sizes of the two groups, accentuate this phenomenon.

But it is in the local community that most reactions to intergroup incompatibilities are manifest, since this is the main arena for the expression and communication of values and tastes. The literature on the response of the host population shows a strong attempt to protect its own status, and all of its components, in the community and school more than in other spheres of activity. It

is clear that responses to intergroup incompatibilities are efforts to defend one's neighbourhood from the encroachments of strangers perceived as a threat to familiar, secure and comfortable ways.

Segregation is often found in the neighbourhood, while the same persons are integrated at the work place. Only 12 per cent of whites showed low acceptance of blacks at work, but 86 per cent rejected neighbourhood desegregation (Pettigrew 1971; Reitzes 1953). Among the non-economic effects of immigration is the creation of rival values between immigrants and natives who fear their values will be displaced (Spengler 1958), both by informal contact with unselected neighbours and by the inclusion of minority members in community social and organizational activities.

Strongest negative responses are found where expectations in informal contact are disrupted by a racially or culturally different group: integration was limited in a Chicago community undergoing a change in racial balance when interpersonal behaviour was informal, spontaneous, or intense (chiefly at the point of black immigration), and it was greater where cross-racial cues of similarity, reliability and trust were strong (Molotch 1969). Negative responses of members of a Canadian community to immigrant participation in community activities and organizations reflected a concern for the disruption of their neighbourhood status-ranking system and of their beliefs about the appropriate means of expressing anger, affinity and other emotions (Jones and Lambert 1967). Immigrants in higher-prestige occupations were deemed more acceptable, but when respondents were asked if they would patronize such immigrant professionals, they revealed negative attitudes, due to the possibility here of personal contact (Jones and Lambert 1965).

Evident is a perception of threat created by association with newcomers with different and perhaps alien symbols and criteria of social evaluation. Moreover, the "strange" customs of newcomers can cause the neighbourhood to be labelled invidiously by outsiders in terms of the characteristics of the new residents (Suttles 1972, pp. 51-3). Fifty-five per cent of new residents in two growing Chicago suburbs moved there to find "people like ourselves", and 81 per cent did so to seek better conditions for their children in a neighbourhood "with less problem of supervision" and "a higher calibre of people" for their daughters to marry (Bell 1958). Suttles (1972, pp. 34-5, 50) describes vigilante community groups and defensive tactics which monitor and control the movement of strangers in their immediate social world. Findings suggest there is more host tolerance in areas that touch the resident's private life the least — voting rights, public accommodation, jobs and, to some extent, education (Brink and Harris 1966, pp. 40-1).

Entrepreneurs, such as realtors and landlords, both feed and reflect the attitudes of host residents, and their policies aim to protect neighbourhood homogeneity (Suttles 1972, p. 42; Boichel 1969; Mercer 1962). There is evidence that Canadians also experience fears of residential deterioration; and race relations in Canadian areas with sizeable black populations are very similar to those in northern American states (Hobart 1964).

Ethnocentrism in both majority and minority groups increases with the size of the out-group. Ethnocentrism increased in this manner in two American schools studied: in a school where all minorities combined constituted 40 per cent of the population, whites were more than twice as ethnocentric as in another school in



which minorities constituted only 8.7 per cent of the total (Lundberg and Dickson 1952). Another study (Gottlieb 1965) examined three schools experiencing a black-population increase, with white-to-black ratios of 94:6, 53:47, and 2:98 respectively. The degree of black students' integration in extra-curricular activities was very low in the first school; and with an increase of percentage-black, white participation in such activities declined. This was especially so with respect to informal social contact, with in-group preferences more frequent for friendship choices than for choices of classmates or teachers (McPartland 1969). Zentner (1964) cites similar findings among Indian and non-Indian students in southern Alberta, where acts of mutual repulsion arose out of differences in standards of conduct. Of the non-Indian population, 33 per cent of students believed that no matter what type of behaviour Indians engaged in, they are not acceptable as equals, and one-half of non-Indians believed that they should remain on reserves.

With respect to the perceived negative consequences of a value clash, 135 of 185 teachers objected to including ethnic history in their curricula, on the grounds that similarities, and not differences, among people ought to be emphasized (Johnson 1971).

On the organizational level, an increase in size and number of participants creates an overload on community and institutional facilities: these must be extended to accommodate the influx, and innovations must be adopted. Greater need exists for patterned arrangements and relationships to mediate contacts when the volume and frequency of such contacts increase. The staff of educational, health, welfare, and law-enforcement agencies and institutions must adapt to persons with different national origins and expectations (Matras 1973, pp. 424, 439). Diversities in language, custom and values create problems in communication and conflicts of interest (Hauser 1969; Ryder 1965).

With respect to community and neighbourhood, a chief factor in residential integration is the existence of alternative housing opportunities for both whites and blacks (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965, p. 76; Molotch 1969; Richmond 1970). Factors other than black-population growth-rate account for the movement of whites to other schools and neighbourhoods, including pressure on school facilities. Eighty per cent of white teachers predicted open community hostility towards teachers in desegregated schools, and many whites spoke of discomfort in mixing with black colleagues (Koponen 1966; Shaffer and Shaffer 1970). Other logistical factors include the racial and ideological composition of school boards, administrations and the characteristics of the political machine in the jurisdiction (Crain 1968).

From the point of view of sheer numerical increase, Anderson (1972) described the impact of immigration increase on the educational system as emanating from three sources: the number of children already of school age who would have to be placed directly into school; those of pre-school age who would enrol soon after arrival; and persons aged 20-29 who are likely to have families and thus affect the system within five to ten years.

In the classroom, incompatible cultural standards and values and the school's organizational incapacity to cope with increases in size combine to create problems of integration (Miller 1966). Many school staff respond to such pressures by aiming to achieve impersonality and uniformity, reflecting an inability to cater to individual group differences (Anderson 1972), and the school has been seen to function as an



assimilationist agency in strict Anglo-conformism (Smolicz 1972).

With respect to the language component of culture and identity, many host communities seek to maintain linguistic homogeneity in areas of frequent face-to-face contact. Seventy per cent of Australian respondents objected to immigrants using their own language in public, and 47 per cent were opposed to foreign-language broadcasts (Richardson and Taft 1968).

Language is especially salient in Canada, because there are two founding cultures to which an immigrant may adapt. However, the tendency for immigrants to assimilate to the English-Canadian majority, a low birth rate in Quebec, and a very small immigration from France combine to produce fears among French-Canadians that their own culture will be displaced (Corbett 1957, pp. 85, 275; Corbett 1967, pp. 18-19; Richmond 1969).

#### D. SOMATIC IDENTITY

Even though the term “somatic” is used, a term which refers to the physical characteristics of people, we are referring to a socio-psychological reality. A person’s identity includes a sense of his physical characteristics. It comprises perceptions of and feelings about one’s body. These in turn are determined not only by one’s physical traits but also by the socially provided standards and ideals with regard to what is physically normal, fit, beautiful, clean and pure (or abnormal, unfit, ugly, dirty and impure). The relevant physical characteristics are numerous: height, size, shape, facial traits, etc. Of particular interest in the present context is colour and other physical characteristics used in a group or a society to define racial identity.

A person’s somatic identity, that is, the way a person sees and thinks of himself (or herself) in this regard is shaped by what Hoetink calls the “somatic norm image” and defines as “the complex of physical (somatic) characteristics which are accepted by a group as its norm and ideal. Norm, because it is used to measure aesthetic appreciation; ideal, because usually no individual ever in fact embodies the somatic norm image of his group. . . . The socio-psychological reality of this norm image is demonstrated by the fact that without it it would not be possible for an individual to be physically vain, or to be hurt in his physical vanity” (Hoetink 1967, pp. 120-1).

Inasmuch as it is possible, individuals try to approximate the standards of the group to which they belong — sometimes at great pain and expense (e.g. plastic surgery; dental correction treatments). And those who deviate substantially from the accepted norms and ideals and are unable to do anything to correct the deviation (e.g. the deformed, the obese) suffer considerably.<sup>1</sup> It is satisfying to an individual to know that he comes close to the ideal and there are institutionalized mechanisms in the society through which individuals can try to satisfy this desire: hairdressing, cosmetics, clothing. In fact, there are whole industries that cater to such desires.

People try to attain a positive somatic self image and avoid a negative one. People also try to avoid a “confused” somatic self image. That is, not knowing where you really stand with respect to the accepted norms is anxiety-creating. Here

---

<sup>1</sup> They frequently form groups of their own with members of their own subculture — a subculture which probably has a different somatic norm image.

we have for example the effeminate. But we also have the case of the racially mixed, the mulatto. The identity problems that arise from being in a "confused" somatic condition constitute a source of anxiety not only for the individual involved but also for his parents and family. The possibility that one's child may be deformed, ugly, or otherwise deviate from the culturally defined somatic norm image is a cause for anxiety among future parents. (In fact, most people would rather not even think about such possibilities). Similarly, the possibility that one's children or grandchildren may be racially mixed is a source of anxiety for most people. The literature on race relations frequently refers to the worries of parents concerning the fate of the offspring if their children were to marry a black person. In fact, dating, marriage and the family are social institutions through which the somatic identity of a group is chiefly maintained and the somatic norm image is thus transmitted over generations.

In short, individuals try to attain a positive somatic self image and to avoid a negative, confused or ambiguous somatic identity. Moreover, they try to do so within the context of the socially given somatic norm image, of the existing norms concerning dating and marriage, and through the use of the available resources; that is, within the socially provided opportunities and constraints (given their actual physical characteristics).

It is clear that a change in the relative size of categories of people who see each other as "racially" different in a neighbourhood, a school or a community is likely to alter and/or to be perceived as altering the structure of opportunities and constraints with regard to somatic identity; that is, of changing the possibilities of maintaining a positively valued identity. For example, becoming a numerical minority may mean to acquire a minority status in terms of a new somatic norm image. Or, an influx of a "racially" different people can mean a change in the somatic characteristics of the community over a few generations. The anticipation of such events is usually experienced as threatening.

Most society members react negatively to interracial mixture when they are sufficiently numerous or territorially concentrated, or both, to build a group identity or race consciousness, by which they judge their own and other racial groups. In such circumstances, members of the receiving population tend to believe it is important to determine the racial origins of "mixed bloods" by physical type (Shapiro 1953, pp. 19, 26). The term "colour bar" refers to the social and psychological processes used to maintain the purity of the host group, and social separation aims to prevent the obscuring of racial origin and the access of racial minorities to the "superior" status group. This reflects the view that the character and value of the civilization depend on the racial stock of its original bearers (Richmond 1961, pp. 28, 84).

Sociation, especially courtship, is often restricted within racial groups, and the norms surrounding it are reflected in opinions about the attractiveness of own and other-group members: differences in the reactions to photos of blacks and whites suggest a marked effect of higher white status on standards of sexual attractiveness (Murstein 1973), and self-preference ratios for both white and black children increase with age (Hoetink 1967, p. 122). White women dating black men report being boycotted by white men and sanctioned by their parents (Petroni 1973). Brink and Harris (1966, p. 135) found 79 per cent of respondents believed that

mixed housing would lead to intermarriage, saying “Races should breed with their own.”

Kinship is the essential element in social structure, and the defence of homogeneity in neighbourhoods and schools is a response to threats to immunities and prerogatives of the family in determining the friendship- and mate-choices of their offspring: host members believe that conflict within families and social ostracism result from a mixed marriage (Beshers 1962, pp. 105, 116ff.). Residential segregation stems from fears that children will develop out-group contacts at play and in school. Seventy-five per cent of 90 householders questioned opposed a New York busing program, with only 3 per cent strongly in favour of it (Shuttles 1972, pp. 39, 177; Swanson and Montgomery 1964). Indeed, in comparison with other ethnic groups, residential segregation of blacks in Chicago is higher even than that of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, groups less well-off (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965, p. 65).

#### E. MORAL INTEGRITY

Newcomers can, if they arrive in fairly large numbers, create two kinds of moral problems for the native population. First, they may bring with them different standards of morality and different patterns of moral behaviour. These different standards and patterns have to be dealt with by the native population: they either have to be adjusted to or eradicated through adequate acculturation. In fact, there is usually a reluctance on the part of governments to accept immigrants with too-different standards (e.g. groups who accept polygamy as legitimate); there is at least a reluctance to accept such immigrants in large numbers, large not only in relative terms but in absolute terms as well.

The introduction of different standards of moral evaluation can also shake the bases of those already established in a population. Social leaders preoccupied with the maintenance of certain patterns of morality are usually concerned with controlling “outside influences”.

Finally, when change due to expansion occurs — through urbanization — there frequently takes place an increase in crime as well. Since a community is reluctant to admit that its standards are becoming inadequate, we observe the tendency to impute the increase in crime to the incoming population.

In short, an incoming population can disturb the moral climate of a community, the institutionalized patterns of approved and disapproved behaviour. They also provide an easy target — perhaps because of the very difference in culture — for blame for whatever increase in crime occurs as a result of social change.

Size is important in this connection. As long as there are only a few people with different standards and patterns of moral behaviour, they can be easily tolerated and even given a special status such as that of being “exotic”. An increase in size can change the perceptions drastically.

An incoming population can pose a second type of moral challenge to population, namely that of extending its own standards of equality, justice, or benevolence to people who are different to some degree and who are strangers. For example, many people in our society perceive as quite threatening the situation



where their child would start going steady with a black person — threatening not only because of the anticipated consequences, but also immediately threatening because one has to make a very difficult moral judgment. Accepting the situation means that you are extending your own standards across racial lines, but then there are the consequences to deal with. Objecting to equality relieves you of the consequences, but constitutes a violation of the standards you have been taught to accept.

This kind of a situation is frequently the basis of stereotyping and prejudiced theories and notions, since it is a kind of situation that generates a strong need to justify your views in some way. If you can convince yourself that those you find undesirable are in fact unacceptable, inferior, different, etc., then you may be able to satisfy yourself that you need not apply the same standards to them as those you apply to yourself and members of your own group.

It is almost obvious that the size of the category of people posing such a challenge is an important consideration. When different cultural groups, whether immigrant or native-born, become numerous in the community, their members' behaviour becomes highly visible in the neighbourhood, the school, and other interactional spheres. When their customs and traditions clash with those of the host, the society is faced with the moral dilemma of extending a welcome and access to benefits to newcomers who may be perceived as challenging the values and standards of their new community. There are many studies which examine the moral justifications which host members make when they are confronted with such a dilemma. With respect to internal migration, on the other hand, the newcomers believe themselves to be natives to begin with and they expect equal treatment. The dilemma of host reception is compounded by the fact of their endorsement of the societal values and their desire to be fully accepted. This makes their moral case very powerful (Petersen 1965, pp. 230-3).

The dilemma is reflected in host attitudes in public-opinion polls about new immigration. A 1954 Canadian Institute of Public Opinion poll revealed 45 per cent of the native-born felt immigration was beneficial to Canada, while 38 per cent expressed an unqualified "No" (Corbett 1957, p. 26). In a 1964 national Australian sample, Australian-born respondents were less likely to favour an increase in immigration than the foreign-born. Fifty-three per cent of post-war migrants favoured an increase, compared with only 27 per cent of pre-war migrants and native-born. Chief among objections was a feared degeneration of community standards, law, and moral authority, because of the "unassimilability" of newcomers (Corbett 1957, p. 32; Simmons 1967; LaViolette 1958).

With respect to intermarriage, host parents who aim to ensure that their daughters and an undesirable never meet may keep their restrictions subtle in order to conform to principles of fairness and free-mate-and-friendship choice (Beshers 1962, pp. 130-1; Merton 1972).

The vigilante defences of neighbourhood, community and school are reinforced by stereotypes which assume newcomers to be wilfully dirty and unrespectable, or to be desperate to improve their situation at the cost of host safety and security (Suttles 1972, p. 192; Form 1958; Palamenatz 1965).

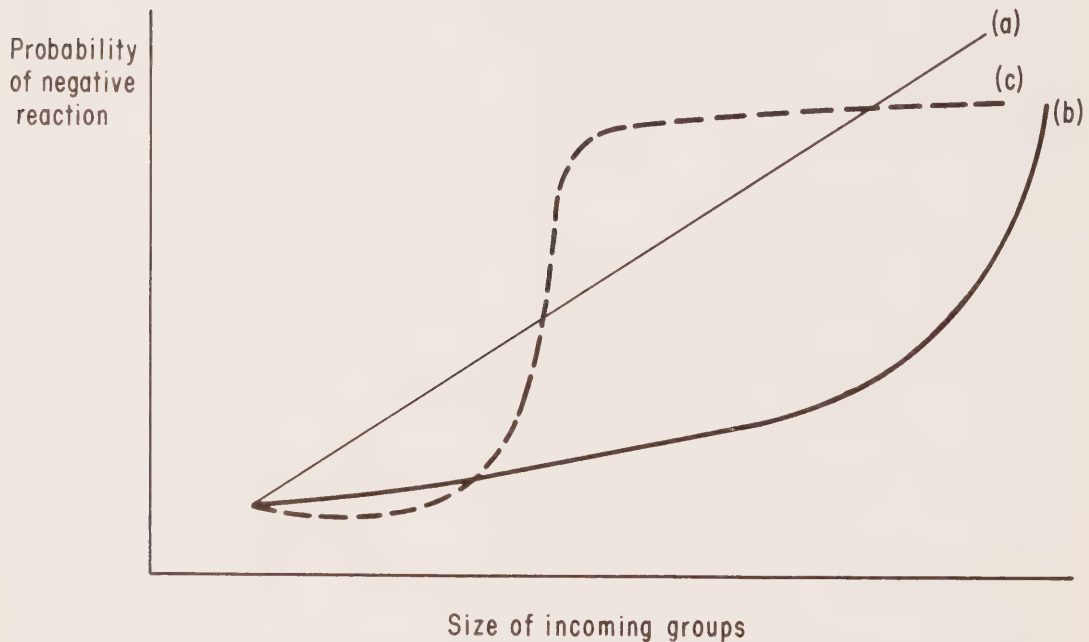
Such stereotypes and defensive mechanisms increase with evidence or perception of crime and deviance. Opponents of fair housing legislation and school

desegregation cite the social ills which inevitably follow a minority influx, but arguments in favour centre on morality and the importance of enhancing the international image of the host country (Duncan and Mindlin 1964). Host members fear neighbour contamination because of crime and violence, and often move to ensure that a “law-and-order” climate will enable adequate crime detection and punishment.

## THE INTENSITY OF REACTIONS

It is not the intention to review here all the factors that may be related to the intensity of reaction to an incoming population. Rather, the aim is to mention briefly some of the factors that condition the effect of size and changes in size. But first a few things should be indicated concerning the shape of the relationship between size and the probability of a negative reaction. Little is known about this question, although it is a fairly important one. First, it is difficult to tell if and under what conditions the relationship is linear or non-linear: is it a case where as size of a new category increases, negative reactions to it also increase (Figure I, curve (a)) or is it one where as size increases, negative reactions increase only slightly until it reaches a point at which it jumps upwards (Figure I, curve (b)). Or, it could be that the probability increases very slowly until it reaches a "critical point" at which it rises sharply to level off again (Figure I, curve (c)). If the latter two instances were to be the case, it would be crucial to be able to identify the "threshold" point.

Figure I



It is with the notion of a threshold in mind that "quotas" of in-migrants (especially coloured) have been proposed by some people in the United States and England. The suggestion was that a maximum quota of say 25 per cent — or some other experimentally established figure — of coloured people be permitted to move into a white neighbourhood or organizations such as schools. Whether or not such quotas are desirable or practical is another matter. They are mentioned here simply for illustrative purposes.

Several factors can condition the effect of changes in size both in magnitude and



in character (i.e. both the level of the curve on the graph and its shape). Among some of these are the following.

#### A. THE CUMULATION OF DIFFERENCES OR THE DEGREE OF HETEROGENEITY

As mentioned earlier, an increase in size usually brings with it an increase in heterogeneity resulting in pressures for transformations in institutionalized patterns of behaviour. But differences can occur in one, some or all of the five areas presented. The greater the difference of the incoming population, the more extensive the incompatibilities with the existing arrangements, the greater the pressure for transformations — and consequently the more intense is the reaction likely to be when such a population increases in size relative to the native population.

#### B. VISIBILITY

The more visible the incoming population, the more is an increase in size likely to bring about a reaction. Visibility is partly attributable to characteristics of the immigrants themselves (e.g. physical or behavioural traits). But it is important to point to the role (actual and potential) of the mass media in this regard. The reporting of criminal behaviour, especially certain kinds of criminal behaviour, can be such as to make not only the receiving population aware of the presence of the newcomers, but even to exaggerate its size.

#### C. THE POINT FROM WHICH AN INCREASE TAKES PLACE

An increase of 10 per cent from 5 per cent is likely to have a more substantial effect than an increase of 10 per cent from say 60 per cent. What we are saying here is that the curve may go up faster with the first increases than with subsequent ones.

#### D. SOCIO-ECONOMIC OR POLITICAL CHANGES SUBSEQUENT TO A CHANGE IN SIZE

Perhaps the most important of such changes is a slowdown in the economy or a sector of the economy. Several authors have pointed out that “racial troubles”, prejudice and discrimination started to manifest themselves once the economic expansion that brought the immigrants into the country slowed down, stopped or reversed itself. Of course, the more pronounced the previous expansion and increase in the number of immigrants, and the more pronounced the slowdown, the more intense is the reaction likely to be.

Changes in internal political decisions (e.g. educational practices, language laws, etc.) or in international relations (e.g. development of tensions or war involving a country from which immigrants were received) can also alter the meaning of the presence of immigrants in a society — and the more so, the larger the size of the group or groups involved.

#### E. THE PRESENCE OF MODERATING OR OF ACCENTUATING AGENCIES

Agencies concerned with moderating the impact of a change in size can originate either in the host population or in the immigrant population itself. Moreover, such agencies can be oriented to the immigrant population in the sense of attempting to reduce differences with the host population as much and as rapidly as possible by assisting the process of adaptation to the new environment. On the other hand, agencies can be oriented towards the host population so as to facilitate its acceptance of the new population. The latter are perhaps as important as the former but are less frequent.

Accentuating agencies are those that either take advantage of latent (or manifest) prejudices and stereotypes in the community (e.g. real estate agents using the technique of "block-busting") or that become the spokesmen voicing the reactions of certain segments of the population. Such leaders frequently form associations in order to put up a resistance to the incoming group or groups. By providing outlets for the expression of reactions to the presence of certain categories of people and their increase in numbers, or both, such agents may very well accentuate the reaction itself.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

A change in the size of a population, especially through migrations, is likely to bring about some reactions among those who are on the receiving side. Several studies report on various types and intensity of reaction to an incoming population.

In an attempt to explain why such reactions may occur, it was first indicated that a change in size is not only a phenomenon of magnitude or volume, but also one which usually involves socially relevant differences and some degree of organization. That is to say, the impact of a change in size is contingent upon its interaction with the differences that may exist between the incoming and receiving population; and it is also contingent upon the degree of cohesiveness and organization of the migrants who, whether or not they have come as isolated individuals, are likely to become part of more or less organized groupings.

Second, the explanatory model was built on the notion that individuals have desires that can usually be satisfied through institutionalized patterns of activities and relationships. The corresponding notion at the organizational level is that organizations exist for more or less clearly defined purposes which can be achieved by means of certain resources and through institutionalized procedures or mechanisms.

Changes in size, in interaction with the degree of difference and of organization, are likely to have an impact on the patterns of activities and relationships through which individuals try to satisfy their desires and on the resources, procedures and mechanisms involved in organizational functioning. It is through such an impact that a change in size can bring about reactions — positive or negative, depending on the nature of the impact. This can occur in several areas of behaviour, either separately or simultaneously. Five major areas were discussed in this paper: economic well-being; political power and self-determination; cultural identity and status; somatic identity and status; moral integrity.<sup>1</sup>

The intensity of the reactions can vary considerably from being very mild to being very intense, even violent. This depends on several factors in addition to the magnitude and rapidity of the change in size and to the degree of difference and organization. For instance, the intensity of the reaction depends also on the predispositions of the receiving population, on the visibility of the incoming group, on the socio-economic and political changes subsequent to a change in size and to the presence and activities of moderating or accentuating agencies.

Finally, it is important to note that the impact of a change in size is not likely to be the same for everyone. Some people are affected positively by changes, some negatively and some not at all. Moreover, people vary in their predispositions towards change and towards different kinds of people. Because of this, the extent of the reaction in the population — as distinct from its intensity — can be limited to a small segment of the population, it can extend to the entire population, or to any portion in between.

This paper, then, represents an attempt to deal with several limited aspects of a

---

<sup>1</sup>The model is represented diagrammatically on page 5 (Diagram I).



complex phenomenon, using existing empirical research and theoretical considerations to outline some of the reactions to immigration. Before more definitive conclusions could be reached, empirical research would have to be done on the effects of immigration — actual and perceived — on each of the five behavioural areas we have discussed. Also needed is research on the effects of immigration on the five behavioural areas in combination, to determine the nature of the response of individuals in any two or more dimensions operating together. This would determine the relative severity of the impact of population shifts and responses to them in Canadian communities.

Nevertheless, some tentative conclusions can be made on the basis of the foregoing analysis. We can identify some activity spheres in which differences between newcomer and host member can develop into incompatibilities which evoke negative reactions; at the work place, immigrants and natives compete for jobs and occupational benefits; in the political arena, both groups vie for recognition and a favourable allocation of power resources. It is in the neighbourhood and community, perhaps, that group differences become immediately and significantly visible, and where the competition for status can become acute, particularly in the area of housing. A primary goal for policymakers may well be to provide adequate housing which citizens — newcomer and host alike — can afford to rent or buy.

The chief objective suggested by the foregoing discussion, however, must for the reasons outlined in our preface be couched in very general terms. The social-expectations model explains the process by which immigration (i.e. a change in the size of two groups in contact) may produce a negative reaction among the host population; any policy recommendations should aim to provide a series of short-circuits to minimize the intensity of immigration impact and host reactions to it by reducing the undesirable effects of the immigration on the activities and organizational-institutional networks and structures in the community and society. At the same time, such mechanisms could partly neutralize the existing predispositions of host members by minimizing the perceived and imagined negative effects of an increase in immigrant group size or a change in the relative size of the two groups.

In addition to building and expanding community resources (schools, housing, hospitals, and the like), involved here would be an educational and informational program designed to equip both host and newcomer with the ability to understand the needs and desires of one another, in all of the behavioural areas we have discussed. For example, such a program in the dimension of political power and self-determination might educate Canadians, new and old, in the political issues that affect their groups, both within and outside their ethnic communities. Similarly, such a program would enable law-enforcement agencies to become better prepared to deal with growing cities, and citizens with heterogeneous backgrounds and experiences.

Such a procedure could confront the issue on several levels, by reducing host fears of “invasion” and value displacement, allaying immigrant fears of host rejection, and enabling organizational and institutional facilities to cope with group differences and numerical increase.

## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Effects of changes in population size:

Bagley, C. 1970. *Social Structure and Prejudice in Five English Boroughs*. London: Institute of Race Relations.

A study of the demographic and social correlates of attitudes among white adults in cities with a population of coloured immigrants greater than the national average.

Compton, B. A., and Boal, F. W. 1969-70. Aspects of the Intercommunity Population Balance in Northern Ireland. *Economic and Social Review* 1:455-76.

A survey of beliefs about the current and future religious proportions among Protestant and Catholic students, citing respondents' reasons for exaggerated perceptions of in-group and out-group population size.

Hawley, A. H. 1958. Interindividual and Intergroup competition. In *Race: Individual and Collective Behaviour*, ed. E. G. Thompson and E. C. Hughes. Glencoe: The Free Press.

A theoretical discussion of perceived group differences created by a large and/or increasing minority, and an analysis of the results for intergroup relations of such perceptions. Explains how competition shifts from an interindividual to an intergroup basis.

Rose, E. J. B. 1969. *Colour and Citizenship*. London: Oxford University Press.

A survey of the incidence of colour prejudice and perceptions of "flooding", and the demographic characteristics of "highly prejudiced" whites in several boroughs with high proportions of coloured immigrants. Explanatory factors in prejudice were exaggerated notions of the extent of the migration and population size.

Ryder, N. B. 1965. The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change. *American Sociological Review* 30:843-61.

A demographic approach to the study of structural transformation created by new population cohorts, in which cohort-size changes, relative to the size of groups in its environment, affect group interaction.

### Economic well-being:

Blalock, H. M. 1957. Percent Non-White and Discrimination in the South. *American Sociological Review* 22:677-82.

A study of the relationship between indices of discrimination, and the rate of non-white increase and percentage-non-white. Examination of the difference between a non-white increase when the percentage-non-white is low or high.

Blalock, H. M. 1967. *Towards a Theory of Minority Group Relations*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

A theoretical discussion of the role of group size, absolute and relative, in the status and power relations between a minority and a majority, based on empirical data. A

key variable is minority percentage, which affects intergroup competition, power threats, and minority-group mobilization.

Glenn, N. D. 1963. Occupational Benefits to Whites from the Subordination of Negroes. *American Sociological Review* 28:443-8.

A study of the relative size of the non-white population and minority occupational status, showing an inverse relation between them. It is demonstrated, however, that an overflow of blacks into middle-level occupations offsets discrimination in cities with a large relative number of blacks.

Jiobu, R., and Marshall, H. H., Jr. 1971. Urban Structure and the Differentiation Between Blacks and Whites. *American Sociological Review* 36:638-49.

A study of the determinants of non-white assimilation, focusing on percentage-black, and the rate of black population growth, showing that increasing black-population size affords more chances for the exploitation of blacks.

#### Political power and self-determination:

Gordon, D. N. 1968. Immigrants and Urban Governmental Forms in American Cities. *American Journal of Sociology* 74:158-71.

An analysis of the percentage of foreign-born as a correlate of municipal governmental form in 268 American cities, finding a positive association between the presence of immigrants and a more politicized and responsive type of government.

Harper, D. 1968. White Reactions to a Riot. In *Riots and Rebellion*, ed. L. H. Masotti and D. R. Bowen. Beverley Hills: Gage.

A study of the relationship between the actual and perceived physical distance between blacks and whites in the riot community, and white attitudes about racial violence in or near their neighbourhood. Factors affecting such perceptions are community civic-political boundaries and proximity to blacks.

Heer, D. 1959. The Sentiment of White Supremacy: An Ecological Study. *American Journal of Sociology* 64:592-8.

An article about the effects of percentage-black on pro-segregationist votes in a southern U.S. general election, showing also the relationship between percentage-black and income differential between the races.

Morgan, W. R., and Clark, T. N. 1973. The Causes of Racial Disorders: A Grievance-Level Explanation. *American Sociological Review* 38:611-24.

A study showing that influence of black-population size on rioting, indicating that severity of disorder increases the more widespread are objective grievances among blacks, since this increases the number of potential supporters of racial disorder.

Pettigrew, T. F., and Cramer, R. 1959. The Demography of Desegregation. *Journal of Social Issues* 15:61-71.

A measurement of conformity pressures to white supremacy norms, using demographic data in the American South. Segregationist votes correlated highly with black-population percentages, and school desegregation was slower with large black-population size.



Seasholes, B., and Cleaveland, F. N. 1962. Negro Political Participation in Two Piedmont Crescent Cities. In *Urban Growth Dynamics*, ed. F. S. Chapin and S. F. Weiss. New York: Wiley and Sons.

A study of black political participation in two cities with a 36:64 black-white ratio, showing the large extent of paternalistic control in local politics.

Spilerman, D. 1970. The Cause of Racial Disturbances: A Comparison of Alternative Explanations. *American Sociological Review* 35:627ff.

Large black-population size was a key variable in participation in racial disturbances, because of the greater ability of blacks to mobilize and because the number of grievances and precipitating incidents was necessarily larger than in cities with a low percentage-black.

#### Cultural identity and status:

Duncan, J. B., and Mindlin, A. 1964. Municipal Fair Housing Legislation: Community Beliefs and Facts. *Phylon* 25:217-37.

A study of white beliefs about the consequences of open housing legislation in a city where blacks are a majority. Respondents cited fears of increased racial tension, crime, and property deterioration in the event of implementation of such laws. Authors report that increasing residential segregation has accompanied black-population increases since 1950 in this city.

Gottlieb, D. 1965. Social Integration and Absorption of Newcomers. *Integrated Education* (Aug.-Nov.):69-75.

A study of white student response to black increases in three schools with different white-black ratios found a development of distinct social systems within the white and black enrolments. With an increase in percentage-black, white participation in group activities declined and blacks took part only in activities involving low interpersonal contact with whites, and low prestige.

Molotch, H. 1969b. Racial Change in a Stable Community. *American Journal of Sociology* 75:226-38.

A Chicago transition community is compared with an all-white control area to test the assumption that the former is accompanied by white flight and high property turnover, using property transfer data in real estate journals. Low turnover was found overall, whether or not the area had been recently opened to blacks. Explanation was a stable available supply of housing units for white and black buyers.

Pettigrew, T. F. 1957. Demographic Correlates of Border-State Desegregation. *American Sociological Review* 22:683-9.

This study finds little desegregation in Border-State schools experiencing a black-population increase, and cites polls revealing fewer pro-segregation attitudes among whites in low-percentage-black communities than in high-percentage-black.

Pettigrew, T. F. 1971. Ethnicity in American Life: A Social-Psychological Perspective. In *Ethnic Groups in the City*, ed. O. Feinstein. Toronto: Heath and Co.

A study finding segregation in neighbourhood activities but integration at the work place, between members of the same mixed population, in an Indiana steel community.

Rose, P. I., and Tothman, S. 1964. Race and Education in New York. *Race* 6:108-16.

A study showing that crisis occurs when the black-white ratio in the school is believed to reach a saturation point, even though actual black proportion may be low.

Shaffer, A., and Shaffer, R. 1970. The Law, Faculty Desegregation, and Social Change. *Phylon* 31:38-47.

A study of the reaction of Alabama teachers to faculty desegregation rules revealed white beliefs that desegregation would evoke opposition from students and the community, and would create interracial discomfort in teachers' social activities.

Stinchcombe, A. L., et al. 1968. Demography of Organizations. *American Journal of Sociology* 74:221-9.

Data on Baltimore school systems were used to specify conditions under which an organization is able to control the composition of the net flow of the population across its boundaries. Conditions include how the jurisdiction of the school is defined, and its degree of demographic independence. Community attitudes and organizational capacity to cope with black increases are also explanatory factors in school desegregation.

#### Somatic identity and status:

Hoetink, H. 1967. *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations*. London: Oxford University Press.

This book examines the effect of the socio-racial structure of the Caribbean on the prevailing "somatic norm image", and analyses the means by which this image is communicated to members of the racial minority and majority. Majority rejection of the minority does not necessarily occur where the minority in status is also a numerical minority, but when it is not, rejection is likely. Miscegenation is accepted only when its social consequences are seen as neutral.

Murstein, B. 1973. A Theory of Marital Choice Applied to Interracial Marriage. In *Interracial Marriage: Expectations and Realities*, ed. I. R. Stuart and L. E. Abt. New York: Grossman.

Race is the most homogamously selective variable in marital choice, and this study on responses of whites and blacks to photos of men and women of both races revealed a strong preference of each for the "extreme white" type.

#### Moral integrity:

Jones, F. E., and Lambert, W. E. 1965. Occupational Rank and Attitudes Towards Immigrants. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 29:137-44.

On the question of admission to Canada, immigrants in higher-prestige occupations were considered more acceptable to native respondents, but the rank order of acceptability was reversed on the question of the utilization of the services of such immigrants.

LaViolette, F. E. 1958. Canada and its Japanese. In *Race: Individual and Collective Behaviour*. ed. E. T. Thompson and E. C. Hughes. Glencoe: The Free Press.

Anti-Japanism in British Columbia represented an effort to maintain Canadian

integrity in the face of perceived loyalty to the homeland among West Coast Japanese.

Petersen, W. 1965. *The Politics of Population*. New York: Anchor Books.

An analysis of the reactions to immigration found host fears that newcomers weaken the foundations of the society, because of their inability to shed the values and conduct of the homeland.

Zentner, H. 1964. Cultural Assimilation Between Indians and Non-Indians in Southern Alberta. In *Social Problems: A Canadian Profile*, ed. R. Laskin. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.

A study on attitudes of Indians and non-Indians about the receptiveness of non-Indians to rural-urban Indian migrations. Majorities of both groups favoured the non-assimilation of Indians on the dimension of conduct and behavioural standards.

## REFERENCES

Anderson, A. W. 1972. Education and Re-Education: Everybody's Concern. In *Australia's Immigration Policy*, ed. H. Roberts. Perth: University of Western Australia Press.

Bagley, C. 1970. *Social Structure and Prejudice in Five English Boroughs*. London: Institute of Race Relations.

Berger, C. J. 1968. Law, Justice and the Poor. In *Urban Riots: Violence and Social Change*. Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, ed. R. H. Connery. New York: Columbia University Press.

Beshers, J. M. 1962. *Urban Social Structure*. New York: Free Press.

Biochel, M. R., et al. 1969. Exposure, Experience and Attitudes: Realtors and Open Occupancy. *Phylon* 30:325-37.

Blalock, H. M. 1957. Percent Non-White and Discrimination in the South. *American Sociological Review* 22:677-82.

Blalock, H. M. 1967. *Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Bonacich, E. 1972. A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market. *American Sociological Review* 37:547-59.

Brink, W. and Harris, L. 1966. *Black and White*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Bufalino, W. E. 1971. Housing and Ethnicity: From Screening System, to Rule 9, to Fair Housing Laws. In *Ethnic Groups in the City*, ed. O. Feinstein. Toronto: Heath and Co.

Compton, B. A. and Boal, F. W. 1969-70. Aspects of the Intercommunity Population Balance in Northern Ireland. *Economic and Social Review* 1:455-76.

Conant, R., et al. 1969. Negro and White Attitudes on the Pace of Integration. *American Behavioral Scientist* 13:247-63.

Corbett, D. C. 1957. *Canada's Immigration Policy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Corbett, E. M. 1967. *Quebec Confronts Canada*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Crain, R. L. 1968. *The Politics of School Desegregation*. Chicago: Aldine.

Cutwright, P. 1965. Negro Subordination and White Gains. *American Sociological Review* 30:110-2.

Darroch, A. G. and Marston, W. 1970. Ethnic Differentiation: Ecological Aspects of a



- Multidimensional Concept. *International Migration Review* 4:71-95.
- Dentler, R. A. 1965. Barriers to Northern School Desegregation. In *The Negro American*, ed. T. Parsons and K. B. Clark. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Desai, R. 1963. *Indian Immigrants in Britain*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Duncan, J. B., and Mindlin, A. 1964. Municipal Fair Housing Legislation: Community Beliefs and Facts. *Phylon* 25:217-37.
- Duncan, O. D., and Schnore, L. 1959. Cultural, Behavioral, and Ecological Perspectives in the Study of Social Organization. *American Journal of Sociology* 65:132-46.
- The Fabian Society. 1965. *Strangers Within*. London.
- Felson, M., et al. 1972. Commentary on "Racially Changing Neighborhoods", by A. Guest and J. Zuiches. *American Journal of Sociology* 78:674-84.
- Fishman, J. 1961. Some Social and Psychological Determinants of Intergroup Relations in Changing Neighborhoods. *Social Forces* 40:42-51.
- Form, W. H. 1958. Status Stratification in a Planned Community. In *The Suburban Community*, ed. W. Dobriner. New York: Putnam.
- Gans, H. 1968. The Ghetto Rebellions and Urban Class Conflict. In *Urban Riots: Violence and Social Change*. Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, ed. R. H. Connery. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Glenn, N. D. 1963. Occupational Benefits to Whites from the Subordination of Negroes. *American Sociological Review* 28:443-8.
- Gordon, D. N. 1968. Immigrants and Urban Governmental Forms in American Cities. *American Journal of Sociology* 74:158-71.
- Gottlieb, D. 1965. Social Integration and Absorption of Newcomers. *Integrated Education* (Aug.-Nov.):69-75.
- Greeley, A. 1971. Ethnicity as an Influence on Behavior. In *Ethnic Groups in the City*, ed. O. Feinstein. Toronto: Heath and Co.
- Griffith, J. A. G., et al. 1960. *Coloured Immigrants in Britain*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Grimshaw, A. D. 1968. Three Views of Urban Violence: Civil Disturbance, Racial Revolt, Class Assault. In *Riots and Rebellion*, ed. L. H. Masotti and D. R. Bowen. Beverley Hills: Gage.
- Harper, D. 1968. White Reactions to a Riot. In *Riots and Rebellion*, ed. L. H. Masotti and D. R. Bowen. Beverley Hills: Gage.
- Hartley, E. L., and Mintz, A. 1946. A Technique for the Study of the Dynamics of the Racial Saturation Point. *Sociometry* 9:14-20.
- Hauser, P. 1969. The Chaotic Society: Product of the Social Morphological Revolution. *American Sociological Review* 34:1-19.
- Hawley, A. H. 1958. Interindividual and Intergroup Competition. In *Race: Individual and Collective Behavior*, ed. E. T. Thompson and E. C. Hughes. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Heer, D. 1959. The Sentiment of White Supremacy: An Ecological Study. *American Journal of Sociology* 64:592-8.
- Hobart, C. W. 1964. Non-Whites in Canada: Indians, Eskimos, Negroes. In *Social Problems: A Canadian Profile*, ed. R. Laskin. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.

- Hodge, R. W., and Hodge, P. 1965. Occupational Assimilation as a Competitive Process. *American Journal of Sociology* 71:249ff.
- Hoetink, H. 1967. *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Isajiw, W. W. 1968-69. The Process of Social Integration: The Canadian Example. *The Dalhousie Review* 48.
- Jeffries, V., et al. 1971. The Public Perception of the Watts Riot as a Social Protest. *American Sociological Review* 36:443-51.
- Jiobu, R., and Marshall, H. H., Jr. 1971. Urban Structure and the Differentiation Between Blacks and Whites. *American Sociological Review* 36:638-49.
- Johnson, C. H. 1971. The Schools and Ethnicity in Detroit. In *Ethnic Groups in the City*, ed. O. Feinstein. Toronto: Heath and Co.
- Jones, F. E., and Lambert, W. E. 1965. Occupational Rank and Attitudes Towards Immigrants. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 29:137-44.
- Jones, F. E., and Lambert, W. E. 1967. "Some Situational Influences on Attitudes Towards Immigrants." *British Journal of Sociology* 8:408-24.
- Katznelson, I. 1973. *Black Men, White Cities*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Kolm, R. 1971. Ethnicity in Society and Community. In *Ethnic Groups in the City*, ed. O. Feinstein. Toronto: Heath and Co.
- Koponen, N. E. 1966. The Myth of a Tipping Point. *Integrated Education* (Aug.-Sept.): 10-14.
- LaViolette, F. E. 1958. Canada and its Japanese. In *Race: Individual and Collective Behavior*, ed. E. T. Thompson and E. C. Hughes. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Liebertson, S. 1963. *Ethnic Patterns in American Cities*. New York: The Free Press.
- Lohman, J. 1968. Law Enforcement and the Police. In *Riots and Rebellion*, ed. L. H. Masotti and D. R. Bowen. Beverly Hills: Gage.
- Lundberg, G. A., and Dickson, L. 1952. Inter-Ethnic Relations in a Highschool Population. *American Journal of Sociology* 58:1-10.
- Matras, J. 1973. *Populations and Society*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Meadows, P. 1967. Insiders and Outsiders: Towards a Theory of Overseas Cultural Groups. *Social Forces* 46:61ff.
- Mercer, N. A. 1962. Discrimination in Rental Housing: A Study of Resistance of Landlords to Non-White Tenants. *Phylon* 23:47-54.
- Merton, R. K. 1972. Intermarriage and the Social Structure: Fact and Theory. In *The Blending American: Patterns of Intermarriage*, ed. M. L. Barron. Chicago: Quadrangle.
- Miller, H. 1966. Race Relations and the Schools in Great Britain. *Phylon* 27:247-67.
- Molotch, H. 1969a. Racial Integration in a Transition Community. *American Sociological Review* 34:878-93.
- Molotch, H. 1969b. Racial Change in a Stable Community. *American Journal of Sociology* 75:226-38.
- Murstein, B. 1973. A Theory of Marital Choice Applied to Interracial Marriage. In *Interracial Marriage: Expectations and Realities*, ed. I. R. Stuart and L. E. Abt. New York: Grossman.
- Northwood, L. K., and Klein, L. H. 1964. The Benign Quota, An Unresolved Issue: Attitudes of Agency Personnel. *Phylon* 25:109-22.

- Palamenatz, J. 1965. Strangers in our Midst. *Race* 7:1-16.
- Petersen, W. 1965. *The Politics of Population*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Petroni, F. A. 1973. Interracial Dating — The Price is High. In *Interracial Marriage: Expectations and Realities*, ed. I. R. Stuart and L. E. Abt. New York: Grossman.
- Pettigrew, T. F. 1957. Demographic Correlates of Border-State Desegregation. *American Sociological Review* 22:683-9.
- Pettigrew, T. F. 1971. Ethnicity in American Life: A Social-Psychological Perspective. In *Ethnic Groups in the City*, ed. O. Feinstein. Toronto: Heath and Co.
- Pettigrew, T. F., and Cramer, R. 1959. The Demography of Desegregation. *Journal of Social Issues* 15:61-71.
- Reder, M. W. 1963. The Economic Consequences of Increased Immigration. *Review of Economics and Statistics* 45:221-30.
- Reitzes, D. C. 1953. The Role of Organizational Structures: Union vs. Neighborhood in a Tension Situation. *Journal of Social Issues* 9:37-44.
- Richardson, A., and Taft, R. 1968. Australian Attitudes Towards Immigrants: A Review of Social Survey Findings. *International Migration Review* 2:46-55.
- Richmond, A. H. 1961. *The Colour Problem*. Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Richmond, A. H. 1969. Immigration and Pluralism in Canada. *International Migration Review* 4:5-24.
- Richmond, A. H. 1970. Housing and Racial Attitudes in Bristol. *Race* 12:49-58.
- Rose, E. J. B. 1969. *Colour and Citizenship*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Rose, P. I., and Rothman, S. 1964. Race and Education in New York. *Race* 6:108-16.
- Rose, R. 1971. *Governing Without Consensus*. London: Faber.
- Ross, J. M., et al. 1966. Negro Neighbors — Banned in Boston. *Trans-action* 3:13-38.
- Ryder, N. B. 1965. The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change. *American Sociological Review* 30:843-61.
- Seasholes, B., and Cleaveland, F. N. 1962. Negro Political Participation in Two Piedmont Crescent Cities. In *Urban Growth Dynamics*, ed. F. S. Chapin and S. F. Weiss. New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Shaffer, A., and Shaffer, R. 1970. The Law, Faculty Desegregation, and Social Change. *Phylon* 31:38-47.
- Shapiro, H. L. 1953. *Race Mixture*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Siegel, B. J. 1969. Defensive Cultural Adaptation. In *The History of Violence in America*, ed. H. Graham and T. Gurr. New York: Bantam Books.
- Silver, A. A. 1968. Official Interpretations of Racial Riots. In *Urban Riots: Violence and Social Change*. Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, ed. R. H. Connery. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Simmons, O. G. 1967. The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans. In *Minorities in a Changing World*, ed. M. Barron. New York: Knopf.
- Smolicz, J. J. 1972. Integration, Assimilation, and the Education of Immigrant Children. In *Australia's Immigration Policy*, ed. H. Roberts. Perth: University of Western Australia Press.



- Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. 1968. *Social Opportunity Project*.
- Spengler, J. J. 1958. Issues and Interests in American Immigration Policy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* (March):43-51.
- Stinchcombe, A. L., et al. 1968. Demography of Organizations. *American Journal of Sociology* 74:221-9.
- Suttles, G. D. 1972. *The Social Construction of Communities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Swanson, B., and Montgomery, C. 1964. White Citizen Response to the Open Enrollment Program. *Integrated Education* (Aug.-Sept.):44-9.
- Taeuber, A. F., et al. 1966. Occupational Assimilation as a Competitive Process: A re-analysis. *American Journal of Sociology* 72:273ff.
- Taeuber, K. E., and Taeuber, A. F. 1965. *Negroes in Cities*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Toronto and District Labour Committee for Human Rights. 1967. *Submissions to the Committee on the Healing Arts*. Toronto.
- Williams, . 1964. *Strangers Next Door*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Wilson, J. Q. 1960. *Negro Politics*. New York: The Free Press.
- Wilson, J. Q. 1965. The Negro in Politics. In *The Negro American*, ed. T. Parsons and K. B. Clark. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Zentner, H. 1964. Cultural Assimilation Between Indians and Non-Indians in Southern Alberta. In *Social Problems: A Canadian Profile*, ed. R. Laskin. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.



















